1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China AF12

101 Region, Liaoning Province, and Hopei Province was passed during the closing sessions of the People's Congress in Peking toward the end of July, 1955. The references to North China in this chapter, however, are based on the 1954 information because the details of the latest change are still unavailable.[2/]

TOPOGRAPHY

133 This region is composed of an impressive tableland in the west and a huge alluvial plain in the east. The difference in elevation between the two halves amounts to about 2,000 meters (6,500 ft.).

1. Mountains: The mountains on the northern border of this region are an extension of the great Yin Shan Range that forms a natural line of demarcation which used to separate the Chinese from the Mongols. These mountains are, from west to east, the Ta-hai-t'o, the Chün-tu, and the Yen-shan, each about 1,000 meters (3,280 ft.) in height and all having steep southern approaches. Rising an average of 2,000 meters (6,560 ft.) in the middle and extending throughout the region is the T'ai-hang Range which marks the end of the Northwest China highland. At the northern tip of

133
778
788

2/ For details of political subdivisions as of 1954, see the chapter on Structure of Government.

1:Stanford U. S-4 5 1956 AF12 North China AF12

this range stand two noted summits, the Heng-shan, traditionally known as Pei-yüeh (one of the five sacred mountains), and the Wu-t'ai-shan, or Five-Table Mountain, so-called because of its summit having five flat peaks. The historic religious buildings on the Wu-t'ai-shan have been destinations of uninterrupted Buddhistic pilgrimage through the centuries. These two mountains measure 2,200 meters (7,216 ft.) in height respectively. To the west of the T'ai-hang in the southern half of Shansi Province is Huo-shan Mountain (2,200 m. or 7,216 ft.). To the northwest rises the Yün-chung Range. The Lü-liang Range, with peaks of 2,000 to 2,500 (6,580-8,200 ft.) lies along the western border of the region.

The entire province of Shansi is a plateau with an average elevation of 1,000 meters (3,280 ft.). To the people on the Hopei plain, the T'ai-hang Mountains are towering escarpments; but to dwellers on the Shansi Plateau, the same mountains seem relatively small.

Of course, there are also scattered lower gullies and basins in Shansi Province, and these are generally found along the rivers that have gnawed their way through the mountains to spill off the tableland.

2. Rivers:[3] In the northeastern corner of the region is the Lwan (Luan) River. It flows out

[3] Ch'en Shih-chien, Chung-kuo Ti Ho-liu [The Rivers of China], Peking, San-lien ch'u-pan-she, 1950, p. 32.

746 drastically through time, and we shall shortly see that the Chinese Communists are greatly altering the meaning and symbolism of those few which have been allowed to survive.

585 In addition to the annual festivals, the farmer's life of toil may be relieved by ceremonial family events. For a family with resources or the ability to borrow them, a wedding meant a great feast and ample wine; even the poorest families often went heavily into debt to make a marriage ceremony festive. Practical jokes were played on the bridegroom, traditional songs were sung, and the guests, particularly the men, thoroughly enjoyed themselves. The 584 births of male children were often celebrated as 862 were the betrothals, and other milestones of family and individual life. In modern times the 527 government of the Republic of China decreed certain national holidays, but these were little observed by the farm villages.

536 In addition to these occasions for relaxation, 538 intermittent special events added interest and variety to the routine of village life. Itinerant dramatic troupes occasionally performed, and until very recently, the story teller frequently appeared on the village streets to spin out his tales to an impromptu audience. The election 622 of a village headman often involved political 788 maneuvering and a town meeting. Pilgrimages to famous mountains or shrines were often undertaken in the slack agricultural season for religious reasons or purely for relaxation.

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 AF12 North China AF12

for the friends and relatives who came for the memorial service; paper houses, paper servants, paper rolls of cloth, paper flowers, paper models of any article of which the dead was particularly fond were purchased; bands were hired to furnish music; sometimes troupes of actors were engaged to give plays; Taoist or Buddhist monks (or both) were called in to hold services for the soul of the departed. These services were generally held both before and on the day of the funeral.

When the father or mother of a family died every one in the family, men, women, and children, put on mourning clothes of white coarse cloth, and a white sash, a white cap, and white shoes. Near male relatives wore white caps and shoes. Near female relatives wrapped a white cloth around their head. Friends or distant relatives wore a piece of white cloth pinned to their coat. Full mourning clothes were worn until after the funeral, but some sign of mourning, usually white shoes and sometimes a white button on a hat, was worn for two and a half years for a father and three years for a mother.

Friends and relatives who came to pay their respects to the dead and condole with the family usually burned some mourning papers and bowed or kotowed four times before the coffin. The sons of the family knelt at the left side of the coffin and returned the bows or kotows. Along with the mourning papers some visitors burned paper money to help provide funds for the spirit of the deceased. This cost about 20 cents.

Relatives and friends generally brought or sent some gifts. Meat, wheat cakes, fruit, and other food were often sent to help furnish the food for the visitors. Other presents were white scrolls, cloth curtains with gilt paper characters pinned to them expressing laudatory statements concerning the deceased or expressions of condolence, and money, usually from 100 coppers up to $1.00.

On the day of the funeral, before the coffin was carried out, the chief monk stood before the tablet of the dead and with the other monks read the Buddhist scriptures. A member of the family took a broom and a winnowing basket and swept the coffin to make sure that money would come into the house instead of being left outside. The sons knelt before the coffin and burned yellow papers, putting them in a small basin that had stood at the head of the coffin. As the coffin moved from the house this bowl was broken to signify that the mourning services were over. This bowl usually had a hole in the bottom as it was be-

3:Chao E-5 (1939-1941)1948 AF12 North China AF12

geomancer is consulted before the arrangement of the union of a man with a woman is decided. Shortly before the bride steps into the bridal chair, certain magical acts should be performed to drive away the evil spirits. After the wedding, the bride is led to the ancestral tomb so as to inform the spirits that a new member has been added to the family.

Illness and death are human sorrows. When a person is ill, his wife or her children, in addition to procuring medicine, proceed to a temple to burn incense before the gods. Death is a calamity; particularly so is the death of the main supporter of the family. When a person is dead, his relatives from near and far come to share the sorrow of his family, together with his friends and non-clan members of the village.

The degree of elaboration of a death ceremony, as in marriage, varies in direct proportion with the financial condition of the family. There is, however, one thing common to the ceremonies of all families and that is their magico-religious nature. Performances have to be made to send the spirit away from the dead body. The spirit has to be guaranteed the ability to reach "heaven" through "hell". The family members have to be assured that they will not be disturbed by the spirit of the dead.

In the field of agriculture, water and wind and insect pests may destroy the plants and the crops. While some of these outside dangers can be put under the farmer's control, there are many that he feels he cannot deal with. He is not quite willing to leave everything to fate and luck until gods have failed him. His mule-carts and working-animals have to be protected from evil spirits. He or his wife or one of his children has to burn incense before the gods at regular intervals of the year or month to thank them for the protection to human labor, to animals, to carts and to crops.

P'ing-chiao-tsun has a temple, but no collective worship has been carried on during recent years. No monk resides in the village temple. In case a monk is needed, he can be called to serve from temples in the neighboring villages. Many gods in the village are no longer popular, but *niang-niang* 娘娘, the goddess, is still functioning. Women pray to her for sons and later for protection of these sons.

A family may worship the gods in the house of residence. Peculiarly enough, only a few families have ancestral tablets. Ancestral worship is not popular in P'ing-chiao-tsun. Of all the house-

3:Chao E-5 (1939-1941)1948 AF12 North China AF12

hold gods, the kitchen god is the most popular. Every family has it and every family worships it at certain days of the year. On the twenty-third of the last moon of the lunar calendar, the family has to make presents to the kitchen god so that he may make a good report to the supreme god in heaven.

The most popular magico-religious ritual in P'ing-chiao-tsun according to one of our religious investigations is the one performed to the "four sacred families" or the spirits of weasels 黃鼠狼, foxes 狐狸, snakes 蛇 and hedgehogs 刺猬. A small house of two to three feet high, three to four feet long and one to two feet wide in the neighborhood of a family residence is built for the spirits of these four animals.

These spirits, evil and good, are believed to wander in the village. They cannot be hurt or disturbed. Sometimes one or several of these spirits may be in possession of a person, usually a woman. The spirits can speak through the mouth of the individual in their possession. Under such circumstances, a house may be built to please these spirits. Sometimes, these spirits may require the service of the individual in their possession to be their permanent intermediary and such an individual may cure illness in the name of one or several of these spirits.[18]

From all we know, religious worship is a family matter. Under certain circumstances such as birth, marriage and death, relatives and friends may participate in the performance. Thus the comfort that one receives from magico-religious performance is not only psychological but social. When one is in a state of emotional unbalance in a life crisis, he has his friends and relatives to pray with him and for him. The fellowship as well as the worship thus render him a moral assistance to raise him to victory out of desperation and death.

Change and Continuity

P'ing-chiao-tsun folks feel the pressure from outside to change, but they appreciate conservatism more than novelty. They look backward more than forward. If continuity and creativity are the two aspects of the process of culture, the first is more obvious in P'ing-chiao-tsun than the second. The social structure has been stationary

18 A paper on the "four sacred families" is in preparation.

another. Only one village had two fairs and they were both in the same month.

The third lunar month with 14 fairs and the second month with 12 were the most popular times for fairs. Sixty-two per cent were held in the first quarter of the year but only 4 per cent in the last quarter. There were no fairs in the 11th and 12th months. The sixth, seventh, and eighth month had only one fair each.

A fair was usually an all village activity with various committees taking charge of the necessary arrangements for the worship, for the theatricals, for the erection of the stage for the players and the mat shed for the spectators, for the selling booths, for the grouping of the various kinds of products offered for sale, for the collection of the necessary funds. For some fairs the money was collected from everyone in the village on the basis of their estimated wealth or the amount of land they owned. In others the money was collected from the shops and stores in the village and from the merchants coming for the fair. In still others an attempt was made to collect the cost of the fair from the visiting merchants and those who set up temporary booths. Only if these contributions left a deficit were the residents of the village asked to subscribe. If there was any surplus in the fair account it usually was added to the general fund of the village.

In most villages the fair was run by the group in charge of the village government, but in some it was in the hands of an entirely different group.

The cost of a fair lasting four days ordinarily varied from $100 to $150. The theatricals given for the entertainment of the gods and the visitors, except one or two caretakers who had to be left in each $114, the main items were:

Theatrical troupe	$60.00	Light and fuel	$6.50
Tip for head of troupe	4.00	Entertainment of soldiers	8.00
Mat shed	17.00	Tax for entertainment	4.00
Stage	10.00	Miscellaneous	4.50

The Pei Ch'i fair was given to honor Han Tsu (see pages 420–21). His worship was the high point of the fair. On the evening of the 20th of the 3rd month practically the entire village of 326 families and their many visitors, except for one or two caretakers who had to be left in each house, went to the temple. Many devout worshippers kotowed every

2:Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF12 North China AF12

543 776 788 ten steps from their home to the temple. They all spent the night in the temple sitting on the floor in front of the altar. The nearer one sat to the altar the better chance he would have to get a blessing from the god early in the morning.

In the morning a new robe was put on the god, he was fanned, incense was burned, and feasts were offered on the altar. Oil money was given for the god. Other contributions were put into the money box.

543 It was estimated that the shops and stalls and displays of goods for this fair covered 150 mu, 25 acres, and that the attendance was some 10,000 persons per day for four days. In the animal market some 2,400 head were sold. The shops and dealers at the 1927 fair were listed as:

Cloth	80	Bamboo articles	7	Tea shops	10
Silk	6	Reed curtains	7	Wine	5
Jewelry	30	Willow baskets	7	Miscellaneous food	30
Furs	15	Stone articles	3	Barbers	20
Imported goods	6	Winnowing machines	3	Fortune tellers	10
Brooms and dusters	50	Rolls	15	Peep shows	6
Iron goods	35	Noodles	12	Story tellers	5
Baskets	10	Bread	7	Chinese boxers	3
Fertilizer	10	Meat	14		
Drug shops	8				

Lumber and wood sellers covered an area of 10 mu. No count was made of dealers in agricultural implements.

753 543 Tung Wang, a village of 319 families, held its fair on the 15th–19th of the third month to honor the god Ch'eng Huang (see page 400). He was noted for his ability to cure disease and settle problems for his worshipers. The activities of the fair covered some 30 mu. The attendance was some 4,000 per day.

543 753 776 The fair in Yao Lu Chuang, a small village with only 51 families, was started in 1927, because so many people came to worship the spirit of a willow tree that stood at the edge of the village. The village head had wanted to cut the tree down to get some money for the village school but before it was done a man came and said that a god had appeared to him in a dream and had told him that the willow tree was about to be deified and that pieces of the tree would cure sickness. The news spread around. People came to worship. A man was cured. Then so many people came that the village organized a four day fair from the 2nd to the 5th of the 3rd month.

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

*467 482 A system of fines was established to keep the porters in their own areas. At present if a group from one "pass" carries goods in another area he must pay to the other "pass" four cents on each dollar he earns while carrying goods in the forbidden area. This fine is then four per cent of his receipts. Formerly he had to pay two coppers on each ten coppers earned or twenty per cent. There appears to be in all the guilds in Peking this general tendency to lessen rigorous discipline. Within the "pass" there was, moreover, a rule against the stealing of a fellow-guildsman's business. "One cannot carry the things for which others have bargained."

Two reasons or "purposes" in addition to the advantages gained from monopoly are given for the founding of the guild — the insuring of protection against another group that formerly treated the porters badly and the acquiring of an important religious privilege.

Many furniture stores of the Southern City used these porters to carry goods to the homes of purchasers. The carriers were supposed to collect the money for the goods and take it to the stores. The porters give "persecution" by the storekeepers as one of the "reasons" for founding their guild. If the carrier failed to bring back the money for the purchases he was locked in the store and kept a virtual prisoner until he "paid up." When the guild was formed the "persecution" was discontinued. Evidently the cause for the "persecution" was also removed! Under guild organization, and with definite groups within the guild, each with its responsible head, the individual irresponsible coolie or an irresponsible group of coolies no longer failed to give over the purchasers' payments.

*467 482 788 The other "reason" for the founding of the guild was the yearly pilgrimage of practically the whole guild to a temple some thirty miles from Peking. How this particular

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

guild came to assume special religious obligations to make this yearly pilgrimage is not clear from the records. Possibly at first the porters carried the supplies to the stores and tea booths erected by philanthropists in the vicinity of the temple to serve pilgrims coming to the yearly festival, and later they themselves became interested in the trip primarily in order to worship at the temple. At present the porters very evidently consider the trip as an act of worship.[1]

The monopolistic right both of the ordinary porter and of the head of the groups within the "pass" had a definite market value. "If the porter wants to sell his right to carrying things in his particular 'pass' he can get forty to fifty taels ($55.56 or $69.45). The buyer must provide two tables of feasts for guests (food for twenty persons)." The price for securing the more coveted position of leader of one of these groups is higher and the transaction more elaborate. Tea is served, presumably at the guild headquarters, for the public so that all may know of the transaction. The price for the transfer is $70, and a feast for twenty persons must also be served. As the present minimum wage for porters is 200 coppers ($.58) a day, the price for this last mentioned transfer (at the rate of exchange used in this study), without counting the expense of the feast, would be the equivalent of the wages for one hundred and twenty days' work. The fact that these privileges are sold for such a high price indicates both the economic value of the monopoly and its security.

The exact date of the founding of the guild is not known. It is stated that "the Holy Tea Association (in its present form) was established in the seventh year of the Emperor Hsien Feng (1857) and became well known in the city by the fourth year of Tung Chih (1865)." As in the case of many other guilds we thus have the record that the guild was "founded," "established" or "reestablished" in the

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

ance" and every one pays his dues. The total income reported for the last calendar year was 40,000 coppers ($115.94). The guild evidently owns part or all of the *Niang Niang Miao,* for it received "$70 rent from the temple" yearly. Additional funds are secured from "donations of incense money" by individuals, which may amount in each case to "several tens of coppers up to $1.00."

The religious ceremonies of this guild are more complicated than those of most of the organizations studied, for, as has been stated, there are two centers of worship: the temple thirty miles from Peking in the hills, known as the *Miao Feng Shan,* and the temple in Peking, the *Niang Niang Miao.* The feast and ceremonies in the Peking temple are reported to cost $70.00. On the sixth day of the fourth moon, after going by foot on the thirty-mile pilgrimage to the mountain temple, the goddess *Tien Hsien Sheng Mu* (Heavenly Fairy Holy Mother) is worshiped. Many details are given us regarding this pilgrimage.

The elders collect the money that has been deposited by the members in the cash boxes and organize the expedition. Large supplies of food are purchased for the travelers during the journey and the stay at the temple. The inventory of what is bought each year is as follows: 15 bags flour of Machine Brand,[1] 900 catties [2] of native flour, 300 catties of rice, 40 catties of kidney beans, 40 catties of vermicelli, 25 catties of salt. These provisions are transported in thirteen two-horse carts. If the funds of the guild treasury are insufficient for the expedition, all who take part in the pilgrimage help make up the deficit. Payment is made in four installments, each member being assessed from "several cents to more than $1.00."

[1] A common Western imported brand of flour sold in bags weighing about 53 lbs.

[2] One catty = 1⅓ pounds

4: Burgess E-4.5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

*467 482 ●788 After arriving at their destination, the guildsmen join with other porters from outside the city and with cart-drivers in worshiping the mythological goddess of the Chinese pantheon, the Heavenly Fairy Holy Mother. One bunch of incense is burned in Peking at the guild temple before starting on the expedition, and another after returning. The total cost of the pilgrimage is estimated at $300.

On the way to the temple it is customary for the porters to present packages of tea leaves to the many tea booths along the wayside which serve the pilgrims. This gift is listed in the guild head's report as a "charity" of the guild. "There are about 40 tea stations along the road to *Miao Feng Shan* and to each the porters will donate either four catties of tea leaves, or one catty and 80 coppers ($.23) of incense money. Ten catties of tea leaves are presented to the *Miao Feng Shan* temple." In both the temples where the porters worship, the elders officiate during the ceremony. They arrange the incense and light it. They lead their fellow guildsmen in bowing with their heads to the ground three times before the guild god.

*467 482 We are told that the guild is not so prosperous as in days of old. Formerly, during the Manchu Dynasty, when tribute messengers came from distant parts to the Court, the porters were used to carry their gifts and baggage. It is probable that many of these bearers of tribute may have come in through the southern gate of the Southern City of Peking and have passed through the monopoly area of this guild.

In spite of hard times, the guild head assures us that his organization is a close-knit and loyal group. In his own words, because of the hereditary monopoly of the guild, "the solidarity (of our members) could not be bad."

There was one revealing sentence regarding the former relation to the government: "Formerly (the guild was)

7: Gamble S-5 (1926-1927) 1933 AF12 North China AF12

more than $70 a month, had some Christian members, but only 12 per cent of the families receiving less than that amount. For the families receiving more than $70 a month, the averages were $17.20 for those with one or more Christian members; $22.15 for one Mohammedan family; and $10.70 for the other families reporting. Below $70 a month, the averages for the families reporting were $7 for the Christian, 4 cents for the Mohammedan, and 40 cents for the others. Only six families gave away more than $25 a year. The maximum was $103.50, given by a family with an income of $120 a month. In this family, the wife was doing volunteer work for a Christian church.

Religion

Incense, paper money, paper gods, special food eaten at festival time, lanterns for the Feast of Lanterns on the fifteenth of the First Moon, lotus lanterns for the Feast of the Departed Spirits on the fifteenth of the Seventh Moon, mugwort branches to be hung over the door on the fifth of the Fifth Moon, pine and sesamum stalks to be used at New Year's time, are the principal items included under the heading "Religion." Two hundred and fifty-seven families, 91 per cent, spent something for one or more of these items, but the amounts were small. The total expenditure for all families was only $601. The averages per family reporting varied from 13 cents a year for the $5 group, to $7 a year for the $90 group. For only eight of the income groups, was the average over $3 a year. For all the groups, the average was less than 1 per cent of the family budget; and for all but five, it was less than 0.5 per cent.

7: Gamble S-5 (1926-1927) 1933 AF12 North China AF12

Although the expenditure for religion was less than 1 per cent of the family budget, it has been of interest to make a detailed study of the expenditures, in order to determine the amounts Chinese families spend for the different items connected with their religious observances.

Incense, which costs 8 coppers, or 2 cents, per bundle for the small sticks ordinarily used, and 24 coppers per bundle for the large sticks, was purchased by 206 families. In two-thirds of the income groups, the families used an average of less than one bundle of small sticks a month. For only two groups, was the average expenditure over $1 per year. The maximum, $2.05, was the average for the $60 group. It was especially large there, as three families in that group spent more than $4 apiece during the year, and one spent $6.35. The total amount spent for incense by the 206 families was $128. (Table 37.)

Paper money, which is burned in connection with many religious services, was bought by 137 families. The total expenditure was $85. The income group averages, per family reporting, varied from 5 cents to $3.67 a year, but for only five groups was the average over $1. One family in the $70 group spent $11 for paper money for New Year's.

Paper gods—usually purchased for New Year's and at the time of the Autumn Festival, the fifteenth of the Eighth Moon—and paper strips to be pasted on the sides of the gate at New Year's, were bought by 123 families. The average expenditure was some 18 cents per family, the total reported expenditure being $22. For only three income groups, was the average, per family reporting, more than 30 cents. The maximum was 75 cents.

Candles for religious worship were bought by only 26

7: Gamble S-5 (1926-1927) 1933 AF12 North China AF12

[FACING P. 188]

353

FAMILY SHRINE

A few sticks of incense are burned before it daily.

788

GATE GODS

Put up at Chinese New Year to ward off any evil influences that might enter the gate.

7: Gamble S-5 (1926-19? 1933 AF12 North China AF12

782 families. For two-thirds of the families, the amount was
788 less than 10 cents. The largest amount, $2.95, was spent
511 by a family in the $40 group for candles for the New Year's celebration. One family reported the purchase of special candles to be lighted before the Kitchen God on the night of the twenty-third of the Twelfth Moon, the night he is burned and sent to heaven to make his report on the events of the year.

Nineteen families spent an average of 4 cents apiece for sesamum stalks, and 15 families a total of 28 cents for pine branches at New Year's time. Nine families bought firecrackers for the New Year's celebration. For two families, the amount was over $2. Five families spent from 8 to 10 coppers apiece for mugwort to hang over the door on the fifth of the Fifth Moon. The cost of the lotus lanterns set afloat in the moat on the fifteenth of the Seventh Moon, was 2 cents apiece. One family spent $4 for new clothes for the family gods.

Some foods, such as fruit for sacrifice and the special cakes eaten at festival time, seemed to be so closely connected with the religious life of the Chinese that the amounts spent for them have been put under religion, rather than food. Fruit to be set before the gods as part of the feasts offered them was the principal item. For most of the income groups the amount, per family reporting, was between $1.10 and $3.25, but for the groups below $30 it was less than 80 cents. For the $70 group, the average was $10.70. After the fruit had been offered to the gods, it was eaten by the families.

796 The special festival cakes are *nien kao*, made from glu-
511 tinous rice flour, dates, bean flour and sugar; *yuan hsiao*, round balls of rice flour with a filling of melon seeds, can-

7: Gamble S-5 (1926-1927) 1933 AF12 North China AF12

[FACING P. 189]

BURNING INCENSE

PAPER MONEY

Usually burned as part of funeral and memorial services and often in connection with religious service.

7: Gamble S-5 (1926-1927) 1933 AF12 North China AF12

died fruit, et cetera, eaten at New Year's time; *tsung-tzŭ,* balls of glutinous rice wrapped in leaves of reeds; cakes with likenesses on them of the "five poisonous insects"—viper, scorpion, centipede, toad and spider—used for the fifth of the Fifth Moon; moon cakes, eaten at the time of the Autumn Festival, the fifteenth of the Eighth Moon. Only 63 families bought cakes, and only two families bought them for all three festivals. It seems evident, therefore, that most of the families make their own festival cakes. The reported expenditure for all the different kinds of cakes averaged less than 25 cents per family, for the income groups below $70 a month. The maximum was $1.70 in the $175 group. This average was large, as one family in that group spent $4.80 for moon cakes to be offered to the god of the moon before they were eaten.

A special porridge, *la-pa-chou,* is eaten on the eighth of the Twelfth Moon to commemorate the day when the Goddess of Mercy left her home for the Buddhist convent. One family who gave us a complete list used over 20 ingredients—five different kinds of grain, beans, lily and melon seeds, peanuts, chestnuts, walnuts, apricot, peach and pine seeds, dates, green plums, sugar.

As all the members of only a few families were Christian, we were interested to see how many of the 59 families with one or more Christian members bought incense, paper money, festival cakes. Four families purchased incense; two bought paper money; 31 purchased festival cakes; and seven bought fruit for religious use. Nineteen of the 26 families who spent nothing for religion had one or more Christian members. Any money given to the church was classed as a contribution, rather than an expenditure for religion.